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THE CAUSATIVE USE OF *HĀTAN*

I

When it does not mean 'promise,' 'call,' or 'name,' Old English *hātan* is turned into Modern English by the translators and by the glossary makers as 'ordain, direct, bid, order, command.' *Hātan* is, indeed, a frequently used verb of ordering in Old English; and 'ordain, direct, bid, order, command' is a correct translation of this verb in a large number of the instances in which it was used by Old English writers; but this meaning, assigned *hātan* almost without exception,¹ fails to cover the extension of *hātan*'s imperfective 'order' sense into its perfective 'cause' sense. The contention that the function of *hātan* is frequently causative is maintained by the facts presented in this article.

Before I set out to show that the use of *hātan* as both a verb of ordering and a verb of causing is a natural coalescence of functions, and that the sense 'cause' is inherent in the primitive meaning of the word, let me at once give specific examples in which *hātan* may be looked upon as having causative, rather than mandatory, signification. The following examples from *Beowulf* will serve well.

ll. 198-199: Hēt him ȳðlidan gōdne gegyrwan=he caused a good ship to be made ready for him.

ll. 1035-1036: Heht ðā eorla hlēo eahta mēaras / fæted-hlēore on flet tēon²=the protector of warriors caused eight horses . . . to be led into the hall.

ll. 2190-2191: Hēt ðā eorla hlēo in gefetian / heaðo-rōf cyning Hrēðles lāfe=the protector of warriors . . . caused the relic of Hrethel to be brought in.

l. 3110: Hēt ðā geþeodan byre Wihstānes=the son of Wihstan caused to be announced.

It is apparent that in all of these cases the writer, who lived in an age which had so great respect for authority that it considered the issuing of an order by an *eorla hlēo* equivalent to its consumma-

¹ Exceptions: Pancoast and Spaeth (*Early English Poems*, p. 51) translate Hēton mē heora weargas hebban (*Dream of the Rood*, l.31) "made me bear their criminals"; and Napier renders þā fēorwertigæ ȝære timbriæn hēt ðæt mucele tempul (the Old-Middle English *Holy Rood Tree*, p. 27, l.17) "he then, during a space of forty years, caused the great temple to be built."

² Cf. Chaucer, *Knights Tale*, l. 2031, Duk Thēseus lēet forth thrēē stēdes bringe.

tion, desired to record results accomplished by the giving of commands. The interest uppermost in the writer's mind, when he set down the sentences quoted above, was not upon the pronouncement of commands, but upon acts brought about by the publication of orders. It is more reasonable to consider the function of *hātan* in these instances causative than to look upon it as mandatory.

The difference between a verb of ordering and a verb of causing is but a slight difference. Fixing the narrow distinction between these verb classes by defining the function of each class³ emphasizes the ease with which a causative meaning may be assumed by a word generally used as a verb of ordering. Consideration, too, of the relation of verbs of forcing and of verbs of allowing to verbs of causing shows that the functions of all these classes of verbs are so variable that coalescence of their specialized functions in a single word should be met without surprise; and furthermore, a semantic study of common Old English representatives of these verb classes suggests an identity of primitive meaning for a number of verbs that in later use are particularized as verbs of ordering, causing, forcing, or allowing.

II

The verb of ordering expresses the idea that will or power residing in one person or thing is exercised upon another person or thing toward the accomplishment of an act. The stimulus to action expressed in the verb of ordering, based upon assumed authority, may not be, however, irresistible; the act ordered may not be carried out, for the will or power of the one commanded may be stronger than the will or power of the one who issued the command. The verb of ordering is an imperfective verb; it does not necessarily produce an effect; it makes no promise that an act

³ The usual employment of the term "causative" makes no distinction among the various degrees of causation. For instance, Zeitlin (*The Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English* [Columbia University Studies in English, II, iii, 3, 1908], pp. 43-49) includes verbs of compelling in his list of Middle English causatives. In this syntactical study, Zeitlin is interested, however, only in the construction dependent upon the verb of causing, the single aspect of causative verbs that has caught the attention of students of English syntax; for this same purpose there is, of course, no need to discriminate among the verbs that denote varying degrees of emphasis in their causative idea. Zeitlin puts *hātan* in a list of verbs of "implied causation."

will result from a command, or has resulted from a command. In this sentence, for instance, *hātan* is an imperfective verb of ordering: Sende Balthild sēo cwēn mycel weorod, and hēt þone bysceop ofslēan;⁴ five lines below the position of this sentence in the text it is recorded that þā cwelleras . . . ne woldon hine cwel-lan.⁵ The order was issued; the act ordered was not carried out. A perfective sense is, however, easily established for a verb of ordering, for an order is issued generally only when the assumption that it will be executed can be backed by force, if force is necessary for its execution.

III

The verb of causing predicates the accomplishment of an act that has been brought about by the exercise of an influence of some one or of some thing upon some person or some object. The causative verb affirms accomplished action; it is a perfective verb. The pure causative⁶ does not indicate the quality of the influence exerted by the primary actor upon the secondary actor; it leaves the influence general and undetermined beyond the notion that it is sufficiently effective to have brought about an act. It gives no indication of the attitude of the secondary actor; it does not specify whether the agent was willing or unwilling to perform the act he has done.⁷

⁴ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, p. 456, ll. 4-5. All references to Bede are made to Miller's edition, E.E.T.S., O.S., 95.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 456, ll. 9-10.

⁶ In Modern English, *cause* (formal), *have* (informal); *have* is, however, stressed into a verb of forcing; *make* is both a verb of causing and a verb of compelling: "And would fain make themselves feel that they are filled . . ." (Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero-Worship* [Crowell edition], p. 163) and "He shall go right against his desire in one matter, and *make* himself do the thing he does not wish" (*ibid.*, p. 101).

⁷ The attitude of the secondary actor is frequently considered to be of so small consequence that the agent who performs the will of the primary actor drops out of the representation (cf. Brugmann-Delbrück, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, *Syntax*, IV, 2. 115 ff.), as in þā hēt sē cyning sōna neoman þone mete (Bede, p. 116, 1.6). As the tendency to omit the agent-actor grows, distinction between the expression of indirect and direct action is lessened (cf. Chaucer, *Knights Tale*, ll. 1045-1047,

Hē ēst-ward hath upon thē gāte aboue

.

Dōōn māke ān auter and ān oratorie [caused
whom to make it?];

Common causative verbs in Old English and in Middle English⁸ are verbs with an earlier meaning 'arrange, make ready, prepare.'

1. O.E. *dōn*: Germ. **dō-*: **dē*; I.E. **dhō-*: **dhē* 'put, place, put in order, arrange'; Lat. *facere*; Gr. *τίθημι*; Skt. *dhā* (*dad-hāmi*, *dhāmi*).

Similarly, Lat. *concinnāre*, 'put in proper order, arrange,' has a causative meaning.⁹ The common Scandinavian causative *fā* is from a base that means 'arrange, put in order': <Germ. **fanh* <I.E. **pak*, 'ordnen, befestigen'; Lat. *pango*, 'befestigen'; Gr. *πῆγνυμι*, 'mache fest.' Gothic *taujan*, which is sometimes employed as a causative,¹⁰ bears in general the earlier sense 'fertig machen, bereiten, vorwärts bringen.'¹¹

2. M.E. *māken* (O.E. *macian*¹²): Germ. **mak-*; I.E. **mēg-*. "The root **mēg-* . . . meant 'measure off, give the (proper) measure to, make even, like, suitable, convenient; lay out, plan, contrive, make.'"¹³ Wood compares Gr. *μητις* 'wisdom, skill, plan, undertaking; *μητις* 'plan, intend, devise, bring about'; Skt. *māti*, *mimāti*, *mimāti*, 'messen, abmessen, vergliechen mit; *intr.* dem Mass entsprechend; zuteilen; bereiten, bilden, verfertigen.'

3. M.E. (North.) *gar* <O.N. *gǫra* (?): Germ. **garwian*, **gar-wa-*; I.E. **gher-*, 'prepared, made ready,' especially in connection with the preparation of food, and also generally 'made ready.'

with the co-ordinate clause two lines below (1. 1049),

And west-ward, in thē mýnde and memorie

Of Mars, hē māked hath right swich anōther.);

and from the causative (indirect) function of a verb may be developed an auxiliary (direct) function. For such a development of auxiliary function from causative function in the cases of *dō*, *lēten*, *gar*, *faire*, see my article, "The *Do* Auxiliary—1400 to 1450," *Modern Philology*, XII, 7, January 1915, pp. 189-196.

⁸ A larger treatment of causative verbs in Old English and in Middle English I reserve for later publication.

⁹ Plautus, *Amphitruo*, 529, *Lacrumantem exabitu concinnas tu tuam uxorem*; and *Captivi*, 601, *Cerebrum excutiam, ut ille mastigiae, qui me insanum concinnat suis*.

¹⁰ John 5, 21; John 6, 63; Mark 1, 17.

¹¹ Cf. the derivation of *order*, *ordain* <Lat. *ordo* 'arrangement,'—*ordēri*, 'anreihen.'

¹² A rare verb in the causative sense in the Old English written remains. The distribution of *macian* in Old English literature, and its widespread use as a causative in Middle English, will be considered in a future publication.

¹³ Wood, F. A. "Germanic Etymologies," *Modern Philology*, XI, 3, January 1914, pp. 316-318.

IV

The verb of compelling represents the irresistible working of a stimulus toward action exerted upon a secondary actor who does not desire to perform the deed imposed upon him by a primary actor; the power of the primary actor is, however, sufficient to overcome the resistance of the agent. The verb of forcing denotes an act accomplished against the inclination of the actual performer. The attitude of the secondary actor is represented by the causative verb as indifferent; by the verb of forcing, as protesting: the stimulus set in motion in the causative verb is, in a general way, strong enough to have brought about an act; in the verb of forcing, it is powerful enough to have brought about an act in the face of opposition.

A verb in general use as a verb of compelling does not necessarily retain its emphatic perfective sense.¹⁴ It may be so weakened that it expresses merely an incentive to action: a persuasion, an urging, or an entreaty. The use of O.E. *nȳdan*, commonly employed as a verb of forcing,¹⁵ often shows a softening of its meaning of compulsion. *Nēdde* must be translated 'entreated, urged,' and not 'compelled,' in this sentence: Eft sē pāpa nēdde þone abbud Adriaunus, þæt hē biscophāde anfēnge¹⁶ (= Hadrianus ad suscipiendum episcopatum actus est¹⁷); for the bishop did not accept the office the pope *urged* ('tried to cause') him to take. Bede, again, translates *iussit eum Theodorus. . . equitare: þā nēdde sē ærecbiscop hine swīðe, þæt hē rīdan scolde*.¹⁸ In *Appolonius of Tyre*,¹⁹ *cohortatur* is rendered *tō-genēōdād wære*.

Common verbs of compelling in Old English are derived from bases meaning 'strike, split, cut, shove, push, drive.'²⁰

¹⁴ In colloquial Modern English, *force* is often used as a mere causative.

¹⁵ Aelfric (*Grammar*, 28) furnishes only *cōgo* as a parallel of *Ic nȳde*.

¹⁶ p. 254, ll. 12-13.

¹⁷ *Agere* varies from 'impel, incite' to 'cause.'

¹⁸ p. 262, l. 1.

¹⁹ Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, 97, p. 19, l. 7.

²⁰ Cf. the development of meaning in *compel* and *constrain*: (1) *compel* <(com) *pellere*, 'stossend in Bewegung setzen, fortsetzen' <I.E. **pel-*, 'schlagen, klopfen'; cf. Lat. *pulsus*, 'stroke'; *pullāre*, 'stossen'; (2) *constrain* <(con) *stringere*, 'stroke, strike.' Cf., further, *move* (O. Fr. *moveoir*, 'causer'), derived from Lat. *movēre*, 'in Bewegung setzen'; Skt. *mīvati*, 'drängt', *mūrā-h*, 'drängend' <I.E. *m(i)euā^x*, 'streichen' (Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *pello*, *stringo*, *movēo*).

1. O.E. *nȳdan*, 'force, compel, constrain'; Germ. **naupī*, **naudi*; I.E. **nau-ti*, 'strike, cut,' etc.,²¹ cf. O.Ch. Sl. *nā-viti*, 'ermüden' (on account of being 'struck, pushed'), *nyti*, 'erschlafen'; Lett. *nāve*, 'tod,' *nāvēt*, 'tötēn'; Lat. *nex*, 'gewaltsamer tod,' *necāre*, 'töten'; Skt. *nudāti*, 'drives forth,' *nemēs*, 'tire'; O. Bulg. *nuditi*, 'obligare'; O.H.G. *nūan*, *nūwan*, 'pound, crush'; O.N. *núa*, *bnúa*, 'reiben'; Got. *bnauan*, 'zerreiben.'

2. The I.E. base *tē-r-: t̥-r-:* 'stossen, drücken, reiben,' is represented in Old English by several verbs with the meanings 'urge, press, oppress, compel, constrain.'

a) O.E. (ge) *prēatian*, 'threaten, afflict, trouble, harass, restrain, press, oppress, urge, force, compel'; and O.E. *prēatnian*, 'urge, force, compel'; cf. O.E. *prēat*, 'a crowd, compulsion, force'; O.E. *prēotan* (*prētan*), 'make weary'; O.N. *pryōta*, 'break into small pieces'; O.H.G. (ar-) *bidriozan*, 'tire, vex, trouble, press'; Got. *uspruitan*, 'trouble, vex'; Lat. *trūdo*, 'strosse, dränge'; O.Ch.Sl. *trudŭ*, 'mühe, anstrengung,' *truditi*, 'quälen, beschweren.' Cf., further, O.E. *pringan*, 'crowd, press'; Got. *preihan*, 'press, crowd'; O.H.G. *dringan*, 'urgere, stipare'; O.N. *pryngva*, 'press, crowd'; Lat. *truncus*, 'mangled'; Lith. *trenkti*, 'dröhnend stossen'; Zend. *thrakhta*, 'zusammengedrängt'.²²

b) O.E. (ge) *prēan*, 'restrain, compel'; cf. O.E. *prēagan*, 'reprove, rebuke, punish, distress, oppress'; O.H.G. *drauwen*, *drouen*, 'drohen.'

c) O.E. *prāstan*, 'twist, press, constrain, compellare, coartare.'

Old English verbs of compelling exhibit in their early meanings a greater quantity of force than do Old English verbs of causing. The meaning relation between the two classes of verbs is, however, so close from the beginning—'striking, shoving': 'putting, placing'—that addition in the quantity of force in one class and subtraction in the quantity of force in the other class is an easy semantic process at any time. And the meaning anterior to 'put, place' may have been 'strike, hit.'

²¹ For the wide-spread implication of meaning in this base, see Fay, E. W. "I.-The Indo-Iranian Nasal Verbs," *American Journal of Philology*, XXV, 4, pp. 379-389.

²² Cf. the connection of O.E. *bēodan*, 'command', with Skt. *bādhati*, 'drücken, drängen, zwingen'; and O. Bulg. *bēditi*, 'zwingen' (Walde, *op. cit.*, s.v. *fidō*).

V

Old English *lātan* is used as a verb of allowing and as a verb of causing, as are Old High German *lāzzan* and Old Norse *lāta*. The two meanings easily shade into each other. Causation may be euphemistically concealed in permission: it is represented by the allowing-causing verb that a desire to do something arises in the consciousness of the secondary actor, and that someone who has authority over him grants him permission to do the thing he wants to do; as a matter of fact, the desire to have something done originates with the one who has power over the will and act of the performer. The performer's attitude toward the act is, in reality, as vague and uncertain as it is represented to be by the causative verb; but it is formally and politely represented as being desirous of bringing about the act.²³

Did the causative function of *lātan* grow out of its earlier use as a verb of allowing, from a primitive meaning 'yield, give way (to)'; or is the germ of a causative signification present in the pri-

²³ Synonymity of *lātan* and *hātan* is suggested by the evidence of an instance where it is possible to compare the Old English and the Middle English translation of the same Latin original. Alfred's translation of a sentence in Metrum 6, Book II, of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* reads: *sē [cāsere Nēron] hēt . . . forbærnan ealle Rōmanburg . . . and eft hēt ofslēan ealle wisestan witan*; Chaucer's translation of the same passage (*Hē [Nēro] lēēt brennen thē citē of Rōme and mādē slēēn senatōūrs*) uses for the first *hēt: lēēt*, and for the second *hēt: mādē*. The Old French translation has *fist* in both cases.

Variant redactions of Middle English compositions show cases of an interchangeable use of *hātan* and *lēten* as causatives. Line 7764 of *Lajamon's Brut* reads in MS. A:

Hē hehte wurchen āne tūr:

MS. B writes the line:

Hē lette mākē āne tōūr:

Line 917 of *Floris and Blanchefleur* in the Trentham MS. (C. 1440) reads:

And in prisōn lēte hem bē cast;

in MS. Cott, Vitt. D. III (c. 1250-1300) it appears:

and in tō ōne prisūn hē hēt hem cast.

Line 898 of the Trentham MS., on the contrary,

Thē Amyral lēte þē clōthes dōūn cast,

is written in MS. Cott. Vitt. D. III:

þē amiral hēt here clōþes adōūn caste.

Again, line 894 of the Trentham MS.,

Thē Amyral late him his swērd brynge,

reads in Camb. MS. Gg. 4.27.2 (1.619):

(þē) Admiral hēt his swērd bringe.

mary meaning of the word? Germ. **lēt*- is usually referred to an I.E. base **lēd*-, which is defined 'lassig sein, nachlassen, yield, bend, weak,' on account of Lat. *lassus*, 'matt'; Gr. *ληθεῖν*, 'müde sein'; Alb. *l'oð* 'mache müde,' *l'oðem*, 'werde müde'; and O. Ir. *lesc*, 'träge.' In all of the suggested cognates of Germ. **lēt*- only the meanings 'pliable, weak, yielding, bending, tired' are recorded. The meaning 'tired, weary' is found, too, in many words whose earlier meaning probably was 'strike, shove, cut.' The group of words already cited²⁴ as having developed a meaning 'force, compel' from a primary meaning 'strike, hit, cut' contains members whose signification is 'weary, tired, vexed.' The same semantic relation exists between Gr. *κάπτω*, 'strike, cut' and *κάπης*, 'weariness.' Furthermore, the base **lē-i*: **lē-u* has been assigned by Fay²⁵ a primitive meaning 'strike, cut, scrape, rub, crush, beat.' Gr. *ληθεῖν* is glossed by *κοπιᾶν*, 'to tire,' with which compare *κόπτει*, 'cuts, beats,' tires;²⁶ and *κόπος*, 'weariness': *κόπτει*, 'caedit.'²⁷ From an early meaning 'strike, beat, shove, push, place' may have developed the sense 'cause' in *lētan*: from the same meaning may have grown the sense 'yield, give way (to),' from which the sense 'allow' in *lētan* is derived.

VI

Coalescence of the meanings 'order' and 'cause' in *hātan*²⁸ is dependent, too, upon the probably primary meaning of the word. The meaning 'order' fixed in Germ. **hailan* is a complex and not a primitive idea. Germ. **hailan* has been referred to an I.E. base

²⁴ See pp. 86-87.

²⁵ "II. A Semantic Study of the Indo-Iranian Nasal Verbs," *American Journal of Philology*, XXVI, 2, pp. 172-173.

²⁶ For 'cut': 'strike', see Walde, *op. cit.*, s.v. *ferio*.

²⁷ Fay, *op. cit.*, p. 184 and p. 196. Cf. also the root of German *streichen*, English *strike*, seen in Latin *stringo*, 'scrape, rub, cut,' and in Old Bulgarian *striga*, 'I shear.'

²⁸ Confusion in the mind of an Old English writer between *hātan* as a verb of ordering, expressing merely a stimulus to action, and *hātan* as a verb of causing, expressing the completion of an act, produces an interesting example of mixed construction in a sentence in *Beowulf*. Lines 991-992 of *Beowulf* read:

Dā wæs hāten hreþe, Heort innan-weard
folmum gefrætword;

Editors who prefer to risk all upon the principle of establishing logical consistency in ancient sentence structure have needlessly emended the passage; they have failed to realize that the cause of the interesting syntax is the confused

**kē*:- **kō*-,²⁹ which is seen in Lat. *ciēre*, 'in Bewegung setzen, rege machen,' and which probably meant 'put in motion, set forward.' The idea of setting forward an action expressed in Germ. **haitan*³⁰ may, then, be due to a primary meaning similar to that assigned the bases that have produced descendants with the senses 'cause' and 'force.' The tracks of semantic development in all three classes of verbs here considered—verbs of causing forcing, and ordering—may have been similar.

mental processes of the writer, and to remember that similar forms of mixed syntax are found in English writing.

By the time the writer of the sentence quoted above came to putting down *gefratwod*, his mental image had been shifted from the giving of the order to the completely adorned state of Heort that had been brought about by Hrothgar's command. The writer, consequently, expressed this latest idea in his mind by that form of the verb which indicates completed action, the past participle. The construction is more than "awkward," which Chambers in his revised edition of Wyatt's *Beowulf* calls it; it is syntactically enlightening. When one realizes that the use of the past participle in the place of the to-be-expected infinitive is due to the fact that the writer's verb form keeps pace with the vividness with which his mind is following the course of the action from its inception to its completion, one is impatient with the emenders who have suggested for *hātan hreþe*: *hāndum hreþe* (Trautmann); *hāton hreþre*, or *hāt on hreþre* (Sedgfield); and with Holthausen's (first and second editions) assumption of a gap in the MS. An obvious guess to restore logical consistency is to convert *gefratwod* into *gefratwian*. But why should we replace language with logic?

Compare with this construction some of the instances in Middle English in which the past participle is written after verbs of causing: Trevisa, I, 155, Thalestis . . . did wrōt tō kynge Alexandre; Hoccleve, *Regimen of Princes* 4185, Hē wedded lēēt (MS. R reads *wedden*); Chaucer, *Man of Law's Tale*, 171, han dōn frōught. Skeat's comment upon this quotation from Chaucer is: "In the Glossary to Specimens of English I marked *frought* as being infinitive mood, as Dr. Stratmann supposes, though he notes the lack of final *e*. I have now no doubt that *frought* is nothing but the p.p., as in *William of Palerne*, l.2732 . . . The use of this p. p. after a perfect tense is a most remarkable idiom, but there is no doubt of its occurrence in Chaucer's *C.T.*, E. 1098, where we find *Hath don you kept*, where Tyrwhitt has altered *kept* to *kepe*. On the other hand, Tyrwhitt actually notes the occurrence of *Hath don wrought* in *Kn. Tale*, 1055 (A. 1913), which he calls an irregularity. A better name for it is idiom . . . " A still better name for it is mixed construction!

²⁹ Walde, *op. cit.*, s.v. *ciēo*.

³⁰ If Zupitza's reference of **haitan* to an I.E. base **skhaid-* (*Die Germanische Gutterale*, 105) be accepted, the semantic development suggested above will still hold, for **skhaid-* also seems to have had an early meaning 'strike, cut';

The course of the development of meaning suggested for *hātan* is represented in the growth of meaning shown in Latin *jubēre*. This common Latin verb of ordering is derived from a base meaning 'in Bewegung setzen,' according to Bugge³¹ and Walde.³² As cognates of *jubēre*, Walde cites Lith. *jundù, jùsti*, 'geräte in zitternde Bewegung,' *judù, judėti*, 'erreg mich, zittere, zanke, schelte'; Lett. *jauda*, 'Kraft'; Avest. *yaozaiti*, 'gerät in unruhige Bewegung.' The parallel does not cease here. Medieval Latin *jubēre* is used in the double function of causative verb and verb of ordering, as is Old English *hātan*. The synonymous use of *jubēre* (= *hātan*) and *facere* (= causative *dōn*) as early as the third century, and a later general confusion of the two verbs, has been fully displayed by Thielmann.³³ As instances of the frequent interchange of *jubēre* and *facere* in Medieval Latin, Thielmann cites, among a great mass of illustrations, these examples:

Arnob. 1, 48, p. 32, 5: an . . . ad tactum morbas *iusserit* ab hominibus evolare, imperio aut *fecerit* emari valetudinum causam.

Ps. Liber, 8, col. 1392^b M: *iussit* convenire presbyteros; and *ibid.*, col. 1392: *fecit* convenire monasteria et plebem.

Medieval Latin *jubēre* is usually translated into Old English by *hātan*,³⁴ both when *jubēre* is to be considered a verb of ordering and when it may be taken to be a verb of causing. In the following

cf. Gr. *σχίζω*, 'spalte'; Skt. *chid*, 'spalten'; Lat. *scindo*, 'scheide' (Walde, *op. cit.*, s.v. *scindo* and *scio*.)

³¹ Bezzenger's *Beiträge*, XVI, pp. 216 ff.

³² *Op. cit.*, s.v. *jubēre*. Hintner, "Verba des Befehlens," *Prog. der Akad. Gymn.*, Wien, 1893, I have not been able to consult.

³³ Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, III, pp. 177-206.

³⁴ Where writers of Medieval Latin express subordinately, in an ablative absolute phrase, the order or causative impulse to action, and predicate the completion of the act by the main verb, the Old English translators express the completion of the act caused to be done by an indirect actor through *hātan* plus infinitive. For example:

Quod cum iubente rege faceret . . . (Bede, II, 13) = þā het sē cyning swā dōn;

Haedde episcopatum agente, translatus inde in Ventam ciuitatem . . . (Bede, III, 6) = Hædde biscop heht his lichoman ūpādōn and lædan tō Wintaceastre . . . ;

Et iubente pontifice epitaphum . . . scriptum [est] (Bede, V, 7) = And sē pāpa heht gewrit anwritan.

Cf. further in Bede pp. 418, ll. 16-17; p. 460, ll. 29-30; p. 470, l. 20.

instances in Bede, *jubēre* may be considered to be a causative verb: 34, 25; 58, 9; 114, 9-10; 136, 12; 138, 10; 166, 5-6; 168, 12; 118, 20; 344, 20, 21, 34; 460, 4-5.³⁵ Objection to considering *jubēre* and *hātan* causatives in these cases upon the ground that it is very difficult, if it is not impossible, to determine whether it was the intention of the writer of *jubēre* and the writer of *hātan* to express the idea of order or the idea of cause will lend much weight to the contention that the causative function and the order function easily run into each other. In the case of the falling together in the same word of two related meanings, there occur instances of the use of the word which are so ambiguous that we cannot determine which extreme signification the users of the word intended to convey;³⁶ the meaning faces both ways³⁷ before it becomes set fast in a specialized signification.

VII

In the foregoing pages it has been set forth that common representatives of the verb of ordering, the verb of causing, the verb of forcing, and the verb of allowing are in their early meanings closely related; and that behind these words lies a general idea of 'putting in place or order' and 'putting in motion'—by inexpressed means or by violent action. The distinction in the manner in which 'putting or placing' is done is only a difference in emphasis; emphasis in a meaning grows and fades with such ease that the shift of a word from the violent to the weak class, or from the weak to the violent group, is a slight transference. Furthermore, extension of the meaning 'put, place': 'strike, shove' into a perfective sense—'getting something done by putting or shoving a person or thing into place or motion'—is an easy semantic step.

The facts presented have made reasonable, it is hoped, the contention, made at the beginning of this article, that *hātan* bears a double function; that it expresses: (1) the act of putting forward a stimulus upon a person toward the accomplishment of something; and (2) the accomplishment of an act by one who has been put into motion by another toward its completion.

³⁵ Also these cases in Alfred's translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (ed. Sedgefield): 98, 23; 144, 29-30.

³⁶ See p. 192 of my article referred to on p. 85, note 7 above.

³⁷ Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*, p. 275

George Meredith's plea for the entrance into literature of the Egoist's epitaph may be made to read: if this second meaning of *hālan* be not yet in our dictionaries, let it be admitted for its definition.

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